G M 175 648 571

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and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

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Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

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55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 173 almost no help in reconstructing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 631 [17] /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná already suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 101 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus, not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
616 information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikináu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage
[622] between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds: "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[128] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[298] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiguipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/47 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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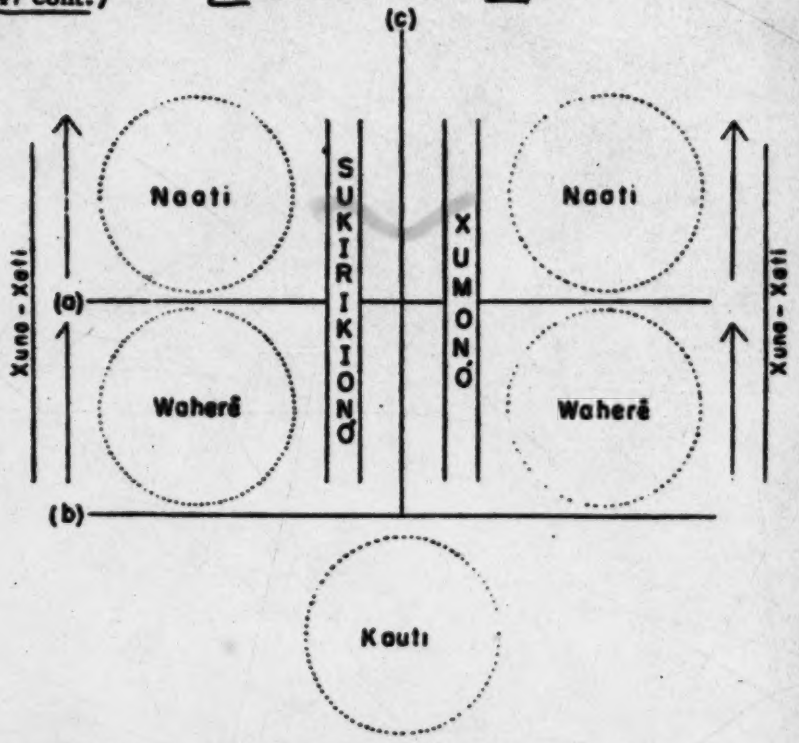

Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

611 Cohishotiquipahũ...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
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72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

148 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
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73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

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74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

3:Oliveira--80 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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Historical Paraguay SK2

G H HP 175 167 648 R [173]

/61 cont./ a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

G H 175 648 H 567

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

G H 175 167 496 H [653]

The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

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master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

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Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

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"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

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175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
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134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikũ, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Hãokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikũ; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikué, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

/79 cont./ [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
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[Lalima]

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173 166 648 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands, whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon

175 162 361 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the

> 144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

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[Buriti]

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175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
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152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identification of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[233] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
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153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,